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I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσαναῖοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (Βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word, Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελικὴ Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. νβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. κ'.

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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from preclassical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939–45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Sarakatsani*, Étude linguistique, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1903. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1905, p. 38.

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villages.) But Capidan[8] and his followers also claimed that the Sarakatsani, far from being the descendants of ancient Greek tribesmen, were not Greeks at all, but Rumanian Koutsovlachs who in comparatively recent times had become hellenized.[9] The complete absence of any reference in Byzantine authors, or in writers of chronicles as late as the eighteenth century, to any communities of shepherds known as Sarakatsani, only increased the temptation to wild flights of speculative fancy by both sides to this controversy. In the absence of any certain historical data much of the argument centred around the interpretation of what little the Sarakatsani themselves had to say about their past, and a number of ingenious but quite improbable solutions to the etymology of the name Sarakatsanos.[10]

The various problems which surround the origins of the Sarakatsani may never find definitive solutions. The affairs of unlettered shepherds were not considered important by classical, Byzantine, or mediaeval writers. The probability that, as a consequence of the existing conditions of climate and relief, transhumant pastoralism of one kind or another has, from the earliest times, been a feature of Greek country life, has no doubt discouraged curiosity and comment. A hundred years ago a significantly higher proportion of the country people lived by the herding of sheep and goats, whether they belonged to genuinely transhumant communities, or to established villages which sent away their animals for six months of the year under the care of shepherds whose families remained in the village. It is only in the last fifty years that, with closer settlement and more intensive agriculture, groups of transhumant shepherds have become a somewhat anomalous element in Greek country life. But the emergence of the different Balkan nationalities is the factor which essentially explains this sudden interest in wandering shepherds. Before and after the Balkan Wars (1912–13),

[8] See Theodor Capidan, 'Saracacianii', *Dacoromania*, 1924–6, vol. 4, pp. 923–59.

[9] Cf. C. Jirec'ek, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, Vienna, 1891, p. 118.

[10] A lucid review of these different solutions is found in an article by Δημ. Γεωργακᾶς, «Περὶ τῶν Σαρακατσαναίων τῆς Θράκης», *Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Θρακικοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ καὶ Γλωσσικοῦ Θησαυροῦ*, 1945–6, vol. 12, pp. 105–28. The second part of this article, 1947–8, vol. 14, pp. 193 ff., is concerned with other aspects of the problem of origin.

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

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II

OF SHEEP AND SHEPHERDS

1. THE FLOCKS

SARAKATSANI are deeply concerned about three things; sheep, children (particularly sons), and honour. It is a common feature of many pastoral peoples with simple material cultures that they are highly dependent on their physical environment[1] and that the care of herds, the structure of the community, and its social values, form a coherent pattern of activities and sentiments which presents few inconsistencies. The three concerns of the Sarakatsani are mutually implicated. The sheep support the life and prestige of the family, the sons serve the flocks and protect the honour of their parents and sisters, and the notion of honour presupposes physical and moral capacities that fit the shepherds for the hard and sometimes dangerous work of following and protecting their animals.

In the winter and spring the Sarakatsani divide their animals into four flocks. The most important of these divisions is the flock of pregnant ewes or, after lambing, the milking ewes (τὰ γαλάρια). In the second flock are the rams, and the sterile ewes which were not successfully mated in the summer (τὰ στέρφα). The third division is a small flock of the last season's ewe lambs (τὰ ζιγούρια).[2] And finally there are the goats. Although sheep and goats are the property of families, and are identified by different ear-signs, the constituent families of a stani do not separate their animals. One flock of pregnant ewes is formed from all the stock of the different families; and similarly for the other categories. These dispositions are influenced partly by the difficulty of shepherding efficiently more than 250 animals in a single flock on grazing land which is often broken ground, always without fencing, and where wolves and wild dogs make frequent raids by night. But an even more important factor is that since grassland is generally natural, not cultivated, the

[1] See E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, p. 16.

[2] The Sarakatsani also keep a few wethers (τὰ γιουσάρια), which grow larger in stature than entire animals and are used as leaders of the various flocks.

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From this brief and summary description of Sarakatsan methods of animal husbandry and the other associated tasks which provide the shepherds with food, clothes, and shelter, it is evident that the flocks of a stani are an object of attention and daily routine about which the working activities of men and women in the group are co-ordinated. The complementarity of the different contributions of the various members of the stani or family, the symbiotic relationship between the people of the stani and their animals, are a source of strength and solidarity. And the physical needs of men and animals in a given physical and political environment are satisfied by the organization and division of labour which I have briefly outlined.

But the relation between the environment, the animals, and their shepherds must be seen not only in terms of utilitarian satisfaction or social function. Shepherding has intrinsic value; it is a way of life, not merely one way of remaining alive. This appears best perhaps in the shepherds' conception of time. Time is not for the Sarakatsani a homogeneous medium, units of which may be saved or lost.[1] In one aspect, it is a succession of activities concerned directly or indirectly with the flocks and determined by the ecological rhythms of the different seasons and the changing conditions of temperature, grass, and water. The cycle of the year is related, of course, to the succession of calendrical months, but the months themselves are associated with particular activities rather than the reverse. Within the cycles of the day, the week, and the year different moments in time have different qualities, sacred or profane, of ill fortune or good fortune, to which the work and the life of the shepherd is accommodated. For example, shearing may not begin on a Sunday which is sacred, nor on a Tuesday or Friday which are inauspicious. Time in another aspect is measured against the progress of the individual through his life considered as a succession of statuses in the family. This paradigm of statuses, also, has a circular appearance in the replacement of one generation by another. Time then is not a scale marking a linear progress, or a means of dividing life into portions of work and leisure, it is a continuum of activity within the family and in the service of the flock. The family and the flock are both forms divinely

[1] Cf. R. B. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 411; and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit. p. 103.

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The Sarakatsan family is not only a domestic association of individuals with mutual affections based on blood relationship, it is a corporate group owning in common all significant property; and of this the leader, whether father or brother, is the trustee not the owner. Economically it struggles to become a self-sufficient unit with a division of labour organized about the service of its flocks; politically its members invariably act together. The individual in his work and behaviour is entirely committed to his family, whose prestige and reputation for honour are his foremost concern.

The family is also a religious community with its own 'sacra', icons, and other objects. In the popular mind it is an earthly reflection of the Heavenly Family of God the Father, the Mother of God, and Christ. Relations between members of a family ought to be modelled on the attitudes which, it is imagined, inspire the relations of the Heavenly archetype Family and its members. A father ought to have wisdom and foresight, a mother compassion, a son courage and respect, a daughter virginity, and so on.[3] Through grace, which descends in the sacrament of the Eucharist and through the icons, and in other ways, they are helped to achieve these modes of being, and in achieving them they partake, in a sense, of the condition of the Holy Family and are therefore less vulnerable as a group to material disaster or the spiritual attacks of the Devil. Through reference to a divine model, a man or woman in family life participates in a reality that transcends individuality; the harsh and ceaseless struggle to survive, even simple and often repeated actions such as carrying water or milking sheep, come to possess a validity which is absolute and intrinsic.

of the joint household by his married sons. Yet so long as it does last, th family group has in other respects a corporate jural existence and perso ality. Cf. Sir Henry Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1893, p. 78.

The Sarakatsan family is a system of closed relationships and a group with a recognized leader. It holds all property in common and controls the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. In principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is with regard to these characteristics that I describe this group as 'corporate'.

[3] In the different aspects of her person, the Mother of God provides a model for both the mother and the daughter in the earthly family.

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612 [426] Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen but repayment after a reasonable interval is expected, and in almost all cases is met, even where it leads to the sale of sheep. It amounts to this, that a man will help his kinsman and indeed is morally obliged to do so, so long as this assistance does not conflict with the interests of his own family.

2. THE KINDRED

[611] The kindred of the Sarakatsani has three important formal characteristics. It is bilateral, the limits of its extension are precisely defined, and within these limits a man may not marry.

There is a sense in which almost all kinship systems may be described as bilateral, or to speak more accurately, filiation is normally bilateral and complementary.[4] But in describing the Sarakatsan kindred as bilateral it is my intention also to suggest a certain, though not exact, symmetry in the relations of a man to the family of origin[5] of his father on the one hand, and to the family of origin of his mother on the other; and to indicate further that, in principle, a man has equivalent confidence in, and similar rights over and obligations towards, more distant collateral kinsmen such as first or second cousins, whether the relationships with these persons are traced through the father or through the mother.[6] There is always a very strong moral obligation to assist any collateral kinsman. For instance, it often

[613] [4] Meyer Fortes, 'Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1953, vol. 55, p. 33.

[5] This is Lloyd Warner's familiar distinction between the family of orientation and the family of procreation. I prefer the terms 'origin' and 'marriage'; in the family of origin the individual is a child and a sibling, in the family of marriage a spouse and a parent.

[601] [6] The bilateral form of the kindred is plainly reflected in the terminology. The word σόι, kindred, applies, of course, to both maternal and paternal relations; and the words for kinsman συγγενής and relationship συγγένεια are both used in the same way. The terms which are used to describe kinship relationship outside the family do not differentiate between maternal and paternal kinsmen. Thus the term θεῖος, uncle, is used for both mother's brother and father's brother as well as for all male first cousins of both parents whether these are connected through male or female links. The same may be said about the other terms for παπποῦλης, grandfather, γιάγια, grandmother, θεία, aunt, ξάδερφος, ξαδέρφη, male and female cousin, ανεψιός, ανεψιά, nephew and niece, and έγγονα, έγγονή, grandchild, grand-daughter.

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shirts to shreds when he dances at weddings. This odd behaviour is not approved, but in terms of χούτ it may, at least, be explained; and it is remembered that his mother's brother, although he did not tear his shirts, used to waste his substance in another way by gambling at cards for high stakes, which he could not afford.

It is clear, then, that the elements of wealth, prestige, and character pass into a family from both the families which enter into the original betrothal contract. This not only reflects the bilateral and symmetrical form of the kindred but in some measure helps to maintain it. For, if a man has contracted a judicious marriage with a girl from a family of at least equivalent prestige, the children will be anxious to associate with their matrilateral kin. On the other hand, it is noticeable that where a man has married into a family of lower prestige than his own (that is, where prestige has not been equally inherited from both sides), his children tend to evade obligations to their mother's kinsmen while they carefully cultivate kinsmen of the father. However, if a wife brings a substantial dowry (that is, where a newly established family is equally endowed with wealth from both sides), the husband is obliged to be particularly helpful to the family and kinsmen of his wife, and this leads to close relations between his children and their maternal cousins.

The bilateral structure of the kindred implies, of course, that this association of kinsmen is not a corporate group. Its definition must always be relative to a particular group of siblings.[1] At a wedding, when representatives of all sections of the bridegroom's kindred gather round him in support against the kindred of the bride, the illusion is created that two solidary corporate groups of kinsmen are involved. But in fact they are only united in the particular context of the wedding and by reason of each individual's personal kinship relation to the bridegroom. Indeed since any particular kindred comprises descendants of four pairs of unrelated great-grandparents, only the sibling group which is central to this kindred is related to all

[1] This has long been recognized. See Bertha Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 3, 275. However, it should be clear that corporate associations of kinsmen may exist in this kind of community. But other criteria will be involved, not merely kinship relationship.

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determines status, categorical rights and obligations, and membership in the family group, which is the only solidary kin grouping in this system of kinship and marriage. Hence in a description of the Sarakatsan kindred it seems preferable not to speak, even loosely, of any principle of descent.[11]

It is true that the kindred of any man includes the descendants of four pairs of great-grandparents. It is, therefore, possible to represent the kindred diagrammatically as four interlocking pyramids of cognatic descent. But this kind of abstraction bears no relation to the mental image which a Sarakatsanos forms of his kindred, in which relations are conceived in terms of extension from the family of origin, not descent from a common ancestor. There is mutual affection and moral obligation between my second cousin and myself because my grandparent and his grandparent were siblings rather than because we are both descendants of common great-grandparents. I prefer, then, to speak of equivalent bilateral extension, for this describes precisely the constitution of the kindred. The qualification of bilateral extension by the notion of equivalence is intended to underline both the fact that collateral kinsmen are recognized to the degree of second cousin on either side of the family, and also the equipotential character of matrilateral and patrilateral relationships.

The second formal characteristic of the kindred is the definition of its limits, which, in this case, are drawn in a man's own generation at the collateral degree of second cousin, a span of collateral kinship which is calculated by recognizing as kinsmen the descendants of his four grandparents and their siblings. Thereafter, as we have seen, the recognition of collaterals is increasingly restricted in descendant generations. This limitation, considered together with equivalent bilateral extension, leads to a simple process within the kindred whereby the range of collateral relationship which a child may inherit from either parent is severely delimited. The second cousins of his parent are not, in a formal sense, a man's kinsmen and, therefore, he may marry a kinswoman of this degree.

[11] In some general remarks about the concept of descent in bilateral systems Professor Firth has adopted a similar viewpoint. Raymond Firth (editor), *Two Studies of Kinship in London*, London, 1956, p. 15. Cf. also W. H. R. Rivers, *Social Organisation*, London, 1924, p. 86, and G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York, 1949, p. 15.

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612 58 in common with his first cousin and only one quarter in common with his second cousin. It shows with what rapidity in this kinship system the common interests of the descendants of a sibling group disappear. With the passage of only three generations these descendants are formally unrelated and there is no restriction on the marriage of third cousins. A man says of this third cousin, 'The kindred has left the house' (βγῆκε τὸ σόϊ ἀπὸ τὸ σπίτι).

612 582 591 The third formal characteristic of the kindred is that a man may not marry within its limits. This means that the two families who form a marriage alliance are unrelated[13] and that the kindred of the groom will not considerably overlap with the kindred of the bride although they may claim some kinsmen in common. A kindred in which maternal and paternal kinsmen normally form mutually exclusive categories naturally has a wider span than a kindred in which these categories overlap; and to that extent, the marriage prohibition is consistent with the need to have many kinsmen in many places.

We have seen that the principle of equivalent bilateral extension together with the defined limits of the kindred acts over a period of time to force collaterals apart. A second consequence of the prohibition on marriage in the kindred is that it makes it impossible to counteract this process by confirming in a later generation a relationship which has already been established. Thus the practice of either first- or second-cousin marriage such as is reported from Spain by Pitt-Rivers,[14] where it is favoured as a means of conserving property within the family, is not possible among the Sarakatsani. This leads to a third consequence of the marriage prohibition. It forces a man who wishes to marry off his son or daughter to face, as it were, outwards from his kindred towards the total community. Thus while non-kinsmen are rivals and even enemies, they are also in a sense potential affines. This is peculiarly significant in a community where men unrelated by kinship are associated mainly through institutionalized forms of hostility and rivalry. A contract of marriage is normally the only instrument which may bring two unrelated families into positive association and co-operation. Indeed, a sense of the community's endogamy is an important

[13] Except in the cases of marriage between third cousins.

[14] J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra*, London, 1954, pp. 103–6.

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element in their consciousness of being a community at all. Sarakatsani, when they wish to stress their solidarity in opposition to villagers or other outsiders, often claim that, if full records of their marriages had been preserved through the generations, it would be clear that they are all kinsmen, although they are quick to add the qualification that such kinship has long ago 'left the house'. The same principles of kinship extension and marriage prohibition which from the point of view of the individual tend towards the loosening of his relations with collaterals within the kindred, at the same time lead to a measure of cohesion within the community considered as a system of actual and potential kinship relations. Kin and non-kin, actual relations and potential relations, are opposed but also complementary categories.

Of these three formal features of the Sarakatsan kindred the dominant is, without doubt, equivalent bilateral extension. The distinctive consequence of this principle is that the only possible corporate group based upon kinship alone which can exist in such a system over a period of time as long as a generation is the elementary family. For since there is no unilineal principle of descent grouping, there can be no corporate kinship group of higher order, which either includes the elementary family, or cuts across it by including some of its members and excluding others. Nor are there non-unilineal corporate kin groups in which membership is based on optional or alternate filiation or on the choice of residence after marriage.[13] Such arrangements would conflict with the symmetrical affiliation of Sarakatsani to all kinsmen through all lines and the equivalence of obligation to all kinsmen of the same degree. Although the association of an elementary family, for the first five to ten years of its existence, with the husband's extended family of origin may obscure the situation, the newly established elementary family is influenced by both the families of origin of the husband and wife.

An interesting recognition of this occurs on the very day of marriage when in other respects the bride's family feel that they

[13] For a review of non-unilineal descent groups, see William Davenport, 'Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. 61, pp. 557–72. Cf. also J. D. Freeman, 'The Family System of the Iban of Borneo', *Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 1*, Cambridge, 1958.

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596 571 [581] Secondly, the marriage ceremony does not set the seal upon an already established relationship, it only creates the necessary legal and religious conditions for its inception. This is a pertinent fact in a community where, although a man may sometimes have seen his bride before the marriage day, it is most unlikely that he has ever spoken to her. It requires the passage of time and the birth of a child before it can be said in any real sense[17] that an elementary family has been founded. The third reason introduces an economic factor. The Sarakatsan technique of grazing sheep demands for optimum efficiency the co-operation of certainly not fewer than four adult males. An undivided household means an undivided flock, and generally sufficient shepherds to look after it. It is true that after partition brothers normally continue to run their sheep together, but sheep must then be branded, accounts kept, and in different ways the possibility of friction between the associated brothers is greater than when the flock is undivided.[18, 19]

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[17] As opposed to its formal establishment at the religious ceremony of marriage.

[113] [18] Parts of this chapter appear in an essay, 'The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community', included in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1963. This volume has been published in the series 'Recherches Mediterranéennes' of La Maison des Sciences de L'Homme. I am grateful for permission to reprint this material.

[113] [171] [19] The degree to which my analysis of the Sarakatsan kindred is valid for Greek rural communities in general may be judged by comparing it with Ernestine Friedl's lucid account of kinship usage in her book, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962.

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς γαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1936, p. 44.
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[1] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

[1] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, vol. i, p. 265.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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But the obligation that Sarakatsani must not on any account fail to fulfil is the defence of family honour. Honour (τιμή) is directly concerned in a limited range of situations; typically these emerge after physical assault or verbal insult, or following a sexual assault on the women of a family, or their own misconduct. Whether or not honour is lost depends essentially upon two qualities in the moral characters of its members; the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of the men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of the women. Objectively, therefore, honour is an aspect of the integrity and social worth of the family as this is judged by the community; subjectively it represents the moral solidarity of the family, an ideal circle that must be defended against any violation by outsiders.

Honour is concerned with strength or prepotency rather than justice. The most direct blow to the strength of another family is simply to kill one of its men. His blood pours out and with it go life, consciousness, and strength. Sarakatsani believe that in some way a killer absorbs the strength from the blood of the man he slays. 'I shall drink your blood' (θὰ σοῦ πιῶ τὸ αἷμα), is a phrase that threatens murder. Given the connexion between strength and honour, it follows that the family of the killer validates its claim to honour, except in circumstances where the motive of the killing is itself dishonourable; such motives of dishonour include sexual lust but not theft. On the other hand, the family of the victim must remain inferior until one of its members 'takes out the blood' (βγάλῃ τὸ αἷμα) from the violator himself, or until he is at least driven into exile. One avenger bathed his hands in the blood of the original killer and returned to show his mother 'the blood of her son'. With certain qualifications that will concern us in a later chapter, all Sarakatsani are born with honour. But it is constantly threatened; and its conservation is, in effect, a struggle to maintain an ideal equality. When a life or the virtue of a woman has been taken away, something equivalent must be taken back if the family is not to fall for ever from grace and social reputation.

The family of the victim, then, have this duty of active solidarity[3] 'to take out the blood' of their kinsman from the

[3] The useful distinction between active and passive solidarity is borrowed from Glotz. See Gustave Glotz, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris, 1904, Chapter 6.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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series of thefts never ends, for after each reciprocal act an amount of debt remains.

The sheep are part of the family corporation, they are its source of life and wealth, and a family's prestige and pride are closely bound up with the size and condition of its flock. Each sheep and its eccentricities are individually known. The theft of a sheep from a family removes something more than a material object, it takes away also a spiritual value. Thus before 1937 the theft and counter-theft of sheep provided 'a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent part of persons.'[1] The modern practice of stealing grass, although its effects are less direct, may be viewed in a similar way. Whereas gift exchange in other societies achieves a measure of co-operation between differentiated groups, amongst the Sarakatsani the reciprocal exchange of theft relates one family group to another in a nexus of debt, while at the same time it denies the need, or the possibility, of co-operation and stresses the mutual exclusiveness and opposition of unrelated families.

* * *

The analysis of family roles in the previous chapter revealed that the solidarity of the family was vulnerable in certain important respects. These were the loss of sexual honour by a woman of the family, and competition between father and son or between brothers. In the first part of this chapter I have discussed certain values and institutions which support the intense solidarity of the Sarakatsan family and are in various ways sanctions against the potentially deviant attitudes described in the analysis of family roles; for instance, there were ideas about blood, divorce, illegitimacy, secrecy; and institutions of corporate property and family honour. In the final section of this chapter certain beliefs about the inevitable opposition and hostility of unrelated families have been examined as well as some institutions through which they are expressed. And this reciprocal exchange of hostility represents a further sanction that encourages the identification of the interests and affections of family members in opposition to all who do not belong.

[1] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Ian Cunnison, London, 1954, p. 11.

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X

THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE[1]

1. THE HIERARCHY

A CONSIDERATION of the bilateral kindred and the marriage prohibitions associated with it has shown that the only relatively enduring kin group in the Sarakatsan system of kinship and marriage is the elementary family. I have placed considerable emphasis on the concentration of most of the individual's significant obligations within this group; and these normally take precedence over any other moral commitments. It is a feature of evident importance that the community is fragmented into about six hundred of these exclusive corporate family groups.

Within the community these families are jurally autonomous. It is true that they must often co-operate with kinsmen or affines in the management of their sheep. And in particular though rare circumstances when the honour of the community is in question, men who are unrelated may stand together against villagers and others. Nevertheless, in none of these situations is the sovereignty of the family compromised. Moreover, unrelated families see their different interests as being in fundamental and inevitable opposition. We have already examined various attitudes and institutions through which this mutual hostility is expressed, for instance attitudes of intense secrecy and distrust, and institutions of sheep-theft and mutual trespass. Hostility directed outwards is, of course, the counterpart of the immensely strong jural and affective solidarity of the family. And both are conditions consistent with the system

[1] In some respects there are obvious parallels with Homeric society, and I have benefited by the work of Sir Maurice Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, Oxford, 1930; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, translated by Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956; and Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960.

Anybody considering the values of a Mediterranean culture is under an obligation to J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, London, 1954. Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant L'Islam*, Paris, 1932, is an interesting attempt to discuss a somewhat similar system of values on strict principles of Durkheimian sociology.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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of patronage that links each family individually to the wider structure of Greek society.

But, clearly, there is a limit to the amount of openly expressed hostility that this community is able to tolerate. Shepherds and their sheep are vulnerable, and in practice prudence discourages the free expression of hostility. The reciprocal trespass practised by shepherds who share a common grazing boundary is generally confined to areas from which there is a secure line of retreat; and in grazing disputes shepherds are careful to fight with weapons which may cause unpleasant wounds but are unlikely to kill. Wanton murders are discouraged through the removal of the killer by imprisonment, voluntary exile, or vengeance. By whatever agency this may occur, the family is too small a group to afford the loss of a man, and only an imperative obligation of honour justifies such a risk.

But this relatively limited display of active hostility is not in balance with the unequivocal character of the oppositions between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. These find a more extended and satisfactory expression in competitive behaviour and values which have been mentioned so frequently. The sociological importance of competition[1] is precisely that it represents a kind of opposition which is often indirect. In this instance protagonists compete for social prestige, that is for something which in material form none of them possesses. Where the prize has this intangible quality, direct attack may be irrelevant. Indeed, since social prestige requires the favourable response of the community to a man's qualities and actions after these have been evaluated in terms of the accepted system of values, it depends overwhelmingly on the opinions of enemies. To oppose successfully other unrelated families in terms of prestige, men must compete to the limit in their adherence to these values. They do this without causing one another obvious material harm; and the more they oppose one another in this way, the more they affirm their support of a particular system of values and beliefs. In this context competition for social prestige, while it clearly encourages that family particularism of which it is itself a symptom, nevertheless gives to this competitive complex a certain unity and coherence through a common system of values. These are, as it were, the rules of the game.

[1] Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, translated by Wolff, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 57.

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581 587 554 marrying their virgin daughters to widowers. Thus widowers, in the main, are the means by which non-virgins, 'used women', whether they be honourable widows or dishonoured maidens, are fitted into the community institutions of family and marriage. Naturally, the dishonoured amongst their number tend to marry the widowers of lower prestige, and sometimes bachelors who are of poor family or with some physical imperfection. A widower takes a dishonoured woman as a second wife when her remaining childbearing years are few, [593] and he takes care not to make her pregnant. In effect, she is little more than a domestic slave caring for the children of [589] another woman. But any marriage, almost, is better than the shame of 'remaining'. I have only one well documented case of a healthy woman who did not marry, but the deep fear of this fate is nevertheless very real, and often expressed.

(E) THE DISPLAY OF PRIDE

554 157 Περηφάνια, pride, is a sentiment that a man is entitled to feel if he possesses the elements of prestige. But in the present context we are considering a number of situations where men and their families are expected, or are permitted, to give certain expressive demonstrations of pride.

554 The importance of constant self-assertion if a man is to hold his own in the coffee-shop oratory and boasting has already been mentioned. This is the necessary minimum for social reputation. But a successful display of pride demands something more. Here, the etymology of the word ὑπερήφανος, proud, is relevant.[6] From ὑπέρ and φαίνομαι it is one who shows himself above his fellows. In displaying pride a man must behave in such a way as to show that he believes himself to be superior to other persons. It requires a suggestion of presumptuousness, a subtle air of arrogance, that suggests a man is dominating the gathering, and yet does not proceed as far as an insult or open challenge to others. It is an important element in prestige, but clearly it is also largely derivative from it. A poor man of inferior lineage or low prestige cannot give himself these airs without provoking ridicule.

Not only attitudes, actions, and persons are described as

[113] [6] Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

1:Campbell E 5 (1954-1955)1964
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3. Γεωργακᾶς, Δημ.: «Περὶ τῶν Σαρακατσαναίων τῆς Θράκης», *Ἀρχεῖον Θρακικοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ καὶ Γλωσσικοῦ Θησαυροῦ*, 1945–6, vol. 12, pp. 65–128, 1947–8, vol. 14, pp. 193–270.

4. Höeg, Carsten: *Les Saracatsans*, Étude linguistique, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

5. Κασομούλης, Νικ.: *Ἐνθυμήματα Στρατιωτικά*, vol. i, Athens, 1940.

6. Λαμπρίδης, Ἰωάννης: *Ἠπειρωτικὰ Μελετήματα*, Athens, 1887–90.

7. Λουκόπουλος, Δημ.: *Ποιμενικὰ τῆς Ρούμελης*, Athens, 1930.

8. Σκαφιδᾶς, Βασ.: «Οἱ Σαρακατσαναῖοι», *Ἠπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία*, 1955–6, vol. 4, pp. 782–92, 892–900, 1004–10, 1101–7, vol. 5, pp. 56–62, 151–7, 276–9, 356–62, 458–65, 564–70.

9. Συράκης, Δημοσθ.: «Ἡ Νομαδικὴ Κτηνοτροφία ἐν Ἑλλάδι», *Γεωργικὸν Δελτίον*, 1925, vol. 12, pp. 651–777.

10. Τζιάτζιος, Εὐάγγελος: *Τραγούδια τῶν Σαρακατσαναίων*, Athens, 1928.

11. Χατζημιχάλη, Ἀγγελική: *Σαρακατσάνοι*, vol. i, Athens, 1957.

12. Wace, A. J. B. and Thompson, M. S.: *The Nomads of the Balkans*, London, 1914.

Note: Although a number of anthropological studies of Greek rural communities have been made in recent years, little of this work has yet been published. Ernestine Friedl, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962, is a short but perceptive study of a village in the Boeotian plain. Irwin T. Sanders, *Rainbow in the Rock: The People of Rural Greece*, Cambridge Mass., 1962, is a useful general survey by a rural sociologist.

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/1/ Introduction

121 198 Nomadic Shepherds of the Mediteranean--the Sarakatsani of Greece: the title already announces the content of this work; the study of one of the forms of traditional life that are decreasing rapidly in the Mediterranean countries, under the influence of what we commonly call "progress."

121 This work, undertaken several years ago, comes under the heading of contemporary social-cultural anthropology and is defined within its framework.

However, since the scope and point of view of this discipline are still the object of epistemological controversies, it will be advisable to answer two fundamental questions: What are the problems relevant to anthropology? And, consequently, what is the precise orientation of this work?

In order to answer them we should recall the discussion of the function of anthropology already begun in the early part of the century, succinctly summarized in the contribution of G. Balandier to Traité de Sociologie, published under the editorship of G. Gurvitch. (1)

[113] 1. See G. Gurvitch: Traité de Sociologie vol. 1, chat. v. "Sociologie, Ethnologie et Ethnographie", by G. Balandier, p. 99-113 and bibliographic citations.

It is well known that the teachings of British and American schools of anthropology represent the chief poles of divergence. The first is oriented more towards the study of social relations and structures, while the second is directed more towards culture, the ideological and material assets of societies. (2)

[113] 2. See, for example, the works of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Structure and Function in Primitive Society and A.L. Kroeber (ed.): Anthropology Today /both titles cited in English/, representatives of the divergence: as well as the controversy between G.P. Murdock and R. Firth in: American Anthropologist, vol. 53, no. 4, 1951, cited by G. Balandier, ibid.

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[12] Nevertheless, these two positions do not seem incompatible. According to a very discerning statement by C. Lévi-Strauss: "because anthropology calls itself social or cultural it aspires always to know the total man, seen, in one case through /2/ his productions, and in the other, through his representations." (3)

[13] 3. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Place de l'Anthropologie dans les Sciences Sociales et problèmes posés par son enseignement, in Sciences Sociales, etc., published by UNESCO, p. 113.

In any case, let us add, and this represents our position, it aspires to know man "in context"; hence to deepen the knowledge of man as such--his reactions and his collective productions as well as his cultural works, likewise collective--man in his universe, both natural and human--given, modified or created by him--and struggling to fulfill his life.

This "synthetic" position, is inspired by the teaching of Marcel Mauss--which, from all evidence, likewise inspired C. Lévi-Strauss (4)--

4. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction à l'oeuvre de Mauss, p. XXV ff.

but it is not based on the authority of the master, nor yet on an "interdisciplinary" ecclecticism, which would be absurd. Our decision to approach the problem in a multidimensional manner arises from the very nature of things. Granted that the social and the cultural are inextricably and to a very large extent interlocked, it is obvious that if one does not wish to confine oneself to a sterile nominalism and to leave obscure extremely important aspects, one is obliged to study both together, and to bring to light both their specific characteristics and their mutual relationships. This is the only way to achieve our aim, /namely/ the knowledge of the total Sarakatsani man.

However, a question still remains to be discussed. Can a monographic study such as ours expect to be accepted within the framework of anthropology which aims, according to G. Balandier, to elucidate the general

/2 cont./
[12] properties characterizing the life of man in society? (5)

5. Ibid., p. 102

Or should it, rather, be content with a more modest ambition, that of all ethnographic monographs, to describe more than to explain? In other words, starting from a particular case, can one hope to touch the general?

We believe that, all things considered, we may reply in the affirmative. If the descriptive work proper to every monograph is accompanied by certain comparative statements and if, moreover and above all, it is followed by an explanatory essay, certainly its conclusions will be considered to have anthropological value. /3/ Not because they reveal the universal "socius," but a partial socious, entitled to be integrated with the former and to contribute to its elucidation. Let us remember that if general anthropology has not yet advanced a great deal it is because explanatory monographs are relatively few in number. It seems to us that between the traditional ethnographic monograph and that of inspired by anthropology there is a very obvious gap which justifies a separate category for the latter. The present investigation therefore aspires to take its place among these works.

However, a final aspect which forms of our reflections on our general position ought to be explained: what is culture?

As far as we know, none of the definitions of culture proposed by the different sciences of man can be considered as generally accepted. The following works provide eloquent illustrations. First, Civilisation-[113] le mot et l'idée, published by the Centre international de synthèse (Première semaine internationale de synthèse--II Fsc.), Paris, la Renaissance du Livre, 1930; and second, A.L. Kroeber and Cl. Kluckohn[sic!]: Culture, a critical review of concepts and definitions /cited in English/, Cambridge University Press, 1952.

Obviously, we do not propose to recommence the discussion. Such a task goes far beyond the scope of this work. Nevertheless, the necessity of delimiting our subject, of justifying our plan and explaining the

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121 orientation of the analyses we are going to undertake, requires us to take a stand, even briefly, and to say what we ourselves mean by the term culture.

All creations merit the term culture which are relevant to man's constant effort to conquer all the obstacles he comes up against in the process of ceaselessly adjusting to the conditions imposed upon by his natural and social environment.

In other words, culture is merely the "composite of solutions and responses" that man puts forth in order to satisfy his material, psychological, spiritual, and social needs as these are formed by the concrete conditions of his existence. This composite varies according to societies and different periods of life of the latter; it is transmitted traditionally by custom and enriched by innovations and creations which are ceaselessly added to it.

It will be agreed, we hope, that this definition which /4/ is partly inspired by contemporary anthropology (6)

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6. See: M.J. Herskovits: Man and his Works p.154; A.L.Kroeber: Anthropology p.8-9; B. Malinowski: A Scientific Theory of Culture, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1944, p. 36; F. Boas: "Anthropology," in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, vol. 2, New York 1930, p. 79; C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale Paris 1958, p.390, etc.

is free from all philosophical or other bias and yet does not distort reality. It seems, therefore, to have all the qualities necessary for the guiding thread of our investigation.

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121 182 Placed in a pre-determined environment, the Sarakatsani, like any other human being, must apply his ingenuity to the solution of his vital problems in a manner peculiar to him, and in that manner we can recognize the originality of his way of life.

Thus, if the present work is conducted from an anthropological

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121 182 361 It is clear, therefore, that the fundamental parameters of their existence are the herding of small livestock; the seasonal displacement in the form of nomadism; the fact that they are situated in inhabited regions; their isolation from the surrounding society; the maintainance with that society of a minimum of necessary relations connected largely with their activity as shepherds; the physico-chemical nature of the soil and the terrain, the climate, the flora and fauna, characteristics of the Hellenic Peninsula that is their habitat.

121 182 174 This is not all. Sarakatsani society seems to have its origins in Hellenic society. Many aspects of its culture are found to be inspired by very ancient Hellenic culture. Now this fact constitutes another very important parameter, a temporal dimension that is not negligible and that we should constantly keep in mind as much as the others, all during our investigation. This aspect should figure, and will actually figure in our analysis.

However, since the question of the ethnic origins of the Sarakatsani has been disputed, it is advisable to devote a few pages to it, if only to justify what we have just said.

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174 Since the evidence and the objective data concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani are sadly lacking, the way is open for theoretical discussion.

A considerable number of historians, geographers, linguists, literary men, etc., Greeks and outsiders, have advanced widely divergent hypotheses, presenting the Sarakatsani by turns as Turks, Italiotes, Rumanians, Arumani, direct descendants of the Greek nomads of antiquity, etc.

/6/ A succinct account of their theories will give an idea of these hypotheses.

(113) Authors who maintain that the Sarakatsani are not Greek:

a) The Frenchman, A. van Gennep (?),

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7. A. van Gennep: Compte rendu sur C. Höeg: "Les Saracatsans", p. 211.

considers them (on the basis of a hypothesis) as descendants of the Turks settled in the country.

b) The Italian, A. Baldacci (8)

8. A. Baldacci: Itinerari Albanesi /Albanian Travel Diaries/, p. 106 and 254.

maintains that the Sarakatsani are originally Latin (Italiotes), who have become Hellenized.

c) The Rumanian, N. Jorga (9),

9. N. Jorga: Compte rendu sur C. Höeg, p.243-45, and Histoire de Roumains de la péninsule des Balkans, p. 36.

calls them Rumanians who settled in Illyria (present-day Albania), and eventually became Hellenized.

d) The Yugoslav Const. Jirec'ek (10), The Hungarian,

10. C. Jirec'ek: Gesty do Bulgharsky, p. 220.

L. Thalocsy (11), the German Karl Oestreich (12) and the Bulgarian P. Ts'ilef (13), propose that the Sarakatsani are Hellenized Arumani.

11. L. Thalocsy: Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Balkanhalbinsel /Contributions to the History of the Settlement of the Balkan Peninsula/, p. 60.

12. K. Oestreich: Die Bevölkerung von Makedonien /The Population of Macedonia/, p. 287.

13. P. Ts'ilef: Les Saracatsans, p. 51 f.

The Rumanian authors P. Papahagi (14), T. Papahagi (15) and T. Capidan (16), likewise adhere to this last theory with this difference that they locate the origin of the Sarakatsani geographically in villages inhabited by the Koutsovalaques in southern Albania.

14. P. Papahagi: Numiri Etnice la Aromani, pages passim.

15. T. Papahagi: Compte rendu sur: C. Höeg, p. 260 f.

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16. T. Capidan: "Sărăcăciani," (Compte rendu sur C. Höeg), p. 923 f.

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However, none of these authors has been able to bring forward convincing proof in support of their theory about the foreign origin of the Sarakatsani. On the contrary, between Sarakatsani life and that of Rumanians, Arumani, Turks or Albanians there is no affinity or resemblance that would permit such a conclusion. The Hellenization of the Sarakatsani in the course of time, which these authors suggest in order to justify their theory, is an artificial hypothesis. In fact, the Sarakatsani have not mingled with or ever participated in peasant life, nor in the life of other nomads of the country. Now, if they were strangers and did not have contact with the natives how could they have had the opportunity to become Hellenized? Moreover, since they led a life apart from the other inhabitants of Greece, how could their isolation not have contributed to the /7/ preservation and survival rather than the disappearance of their original ethnic traits?

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That is why a certain number of other authors, likewise of different nationalities, have maintained that the Sarakatsani are Greeks. They are:

--The Frenchmen L. Heuzey (17) and J. Ancel (18).

17. L. Heuzey: Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie p. 200.

18. J. Ancel: La Macédoine, p. 24.

--The Germans G. Stadmuller (19), A. Passow (20), A. Philipson (21), P. Kretschmer (22), Ed. Hermann (23), and P. Wahrmann (24).

19. G. Stadmüller: Problèmes relevant de l'étude historique de l'Épire, p. 156.

20. A. Passow: Carmina Popularia Graeciae Recentioris, p. 648.

21. A. Philipson: Thesalien und Epirus, p. 391.

22. P. Kretschmer: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 180.

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23. Ed. Hermann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 1389.

24. P. Wahrmann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 359-363.

--The Austrian, A. Haberlandt (25).

25. A. Haberlandt: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 141.

--The Dane, Carsten Höeg (26).

26. C. Höeg: Les Saracatsans, p. 82 f.

--The Bulgarian, A. Ischirkoff (27).

27. A. Ischirkoff: Bulgarien, Land und Leute /Bulgaria, the country and the people/, vol. I, P. 31.

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--Finally, the Greeks, K. Amantos (28), A. Keramopoulos (29), N. Bées (30), St. Kyriakidès (31), M. Triantaphyllidès (32) (professors at the University of Athens and of Salonica), J. Vlachoyannis (33), P. Aravantinos (34), J. Lambridès (35), K. Krystallis (36), E. Tziantzios (37) and very recently D. Géorgakas (38) and Madame Ang. Hadjimichali (39).

28. Κ. ΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ : Σχεδίου καὶ Σλαυόφωνοι, p. 28.
29. Α. ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ : Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι, p. 91.
30. Ν. ΒΕΗΣ : Σαρακατσάνοι.
31. Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ : Βιβλιοκρισία ἐπί τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ C. Höeg, p. 288-293.
32. Μ. ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΙΔΗΣ, ὑπτίως, p. 5.
33. Γ. ΒΛΑΧΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ : Ν. Κοσμοπόλη : Σαρακατσάνοι, p. 258.
34. Π. ΑΡΑΒΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ : Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου, p. 140-677.
35. Ι. ΛΑΜΠΡΙΔΗΣ : Ἠπειρωτικαὶ Μελέται, p. 12 et 50-51.
36. Κ. ΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΛΗ : Οἱ Βλάχοι τῆς Πίνδου, p. 108.
37. Ε. ΤΖΙΑΝΤΖΙΟΥ : Τραγούδια τῶν Σαρακατσάνων.
38. Δ. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΑ : Περὶ τῆς καταγωγῆς καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῶν Σαρακατσάνων, p. 94 et suiv.
39. Α. ΧΑΤΖΗΜΙΧΑΛΗ : Σαρακατσάνοι, Α, Ι p. ϛ - ρϛ'.

These authors do not all agree on the moment when the Sarakatsani appeared. Some of them claim that their origin goes back to antiquity.

/7 cont./

174
114 Carsten Höeg, P. Aravantinos, K. Amantos, A. Keramopoulos and Madame Hadjimichali strongly emphasize /8/ this idea. The Germans A. Kretschmer and P. Wharmann share the opinion of C. Höeg, but make no commentary. However, this theory, according to which the Sarakatsani would be Greek nomads going back to antiquity, does not seem to us justified. For in Greek or Latin literature one does not find any illusion by any ancient author to the existence of nomads on Greek soil. Indeed it seems that such a way of life did not exist among the Greeks. (40)

(113) 40. A. Philipson: Das Mittelmeergebiet /The Mediterranean Region/, p. 188.

Madame Hadjimichali tries to explain to us that the Greek writers were not particularly interested in the Sarakatsani since the nomads did not belong to any town and consequently did not really participate in political and historical life. Moreover, she maintains that Sarakatsani art represents a survival of neolithic Greek art and is consequently a proof of the antiquity of their origin.

We find that we must reject these arguments, first because Greek authors, on the contrary, were enormously interested in modes of life different from that of the city; Pausanias, Herodotus, Aristotle, etc., tell us much of it. But they never spoke of Greek nomadism. (41)

(113) 41. These authors were acquainted with nomadism. Aristotle: Politics, book I, chapter III, paragraph 4, in treating the problem of modes of life, mentions nomadism but does not cite it as one of the forms of life of the Hellenes.--Pausanias: Description de la Grèce /Description of Greece/, also speaks of it, three times: book I, chapter VII, paragraph 2, book I, chapter 21, paragraphs 5-6, book VIII, chapter 43, paragraph 3. All these instances concern the barbarians--Libyans (Marmarides), Savromates, Blacks, Scythians.

Thus, if nomadic life had existed, we would certainly find references in legends, tales, folksongs, etc.

/9 cont./

174 [166] 2. The various regions of Greece experienced many exoduses in the course of that epoch. One can cite several cases of entire populations taking refuge in the mountain region and establishing new villages in order to escape the oppression of invaders.

[195] 3. A pattern of life of nomadic sheep herders did exist in the country from the eleventh century on, according to the testimony of the imperial princess of Byzantium, Anne Comnène, who is regarded as one of the most famous chroniclers of her time. (43)

43. Anne Comnène /sic/, edited by Bonne, I, p. 395: "... those who have chosen the nomadic life commonly call themselves Valaques." We know that the Valaques practiced sheep breeding.

4. The ethnological analysis of certain customs observed among them indicates practices of agricultural origin. This conclusion is verified by the fact that these same very ancient customs are found among the agricultural populations of the north. (44)

44. See below pp. 290-294, 302-303, 322-324, etc.

Now, would a people who were nomadic from the beginning have preserved the practiced customs of this kind?

/10/ [193] [122] 5. Finally, their collective memory still recalls "a flight into the mountain region to escape oppression, and the subsequent adoption of the life of stock-breeding nomads." To tell the truth, considering the nature of the soil of the Hellenic peninsula, herding constituted their only available means of meeting their material needs.

Obviously, if to these five arguments (the first of which was proposed by D. Géorgakas and the others by ourselves) one could add a sixth, namely, the preservation among the Sarakatsani of customs existing formerly among the populations of the north of Greece, one would reinforce this theory. Unfortunately, the intellectual heritage of the Greek middle ages, the accounts and testimonies of chroniclers, do not include descriptions of popular life to which one could refer. And the only work of this kind which we actually possess--a work written in the twelfth [113] [114]

/10 cont./
century by Eustace, Bishop of Salonika entitled "Folklore" (Ta Laographika), edited and annotated by Professor F. Koukoulès (in two volumes, Athens, publication of the Society of Macedonian Studies, 1950)--can be of no use for lack of details.

The same is true of the other work of Professor F. Koukoulès: Vie et Civilisation Byzantines (Vol. I-VI, published in Greek in the Collection of the French Institute of Athens, 1947-1957) for although it includes a wealth of details, it gives information only about urban life.

Thus, the arguments presented above permit us to conclude that the Sarakatsani constitute neither an ethnic minority nor a special race, but a part of the Hellenic population, which is distinguishable from the others by the originality of its life-style.

***

This digression ended, we should like to say that the preceding findings, bearing on the special problems which the Sarakatsani must solve and on the conditions under which these problems must find their solution, have already presented the framework for the present work. As far as our conclusions are concerned, we shall attempt, in an essay of synthesis and explanation, to show the broad principles on which Sarakatsani society and culture are based and to try to examine them from a dynamic perspective, that of the process of their formation and of /11/ the function that has been imparted to them. We shall likewise examine, from the same point of view, the constituent elements of the society and culture of the Sarakatsani and their mutual relationships. Finally, we shall concern ourselves with the character of the culture and the human type corresponding to their socio-cultural system, and we shall close on some findings about the reasons for their [sic] decline.

It remains for us only to present, in a few words, the method and techniques used in carrying out the present work.

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/11 cont./

123 The pages which follow show the research that we carried on
124 "in the field" and on the basis of the existing published data. In
126 the field we practiced both the extensive and the intensive methods, depending on the situation and the local possibilities. Techniques chiefly used were: direct observation, recording of accounts and narratives, interviews, and finally direct participation in Sarakatsani life.

124 As informants we chose and questioned more than one hundred persons of both sexes and all ages, whose social positions were as diverse as possible.

114 The map on p. 5 shows the geographic points at which we centered
128 our enquiry. In addition, the reader will find in this work a certain number of plates and drawings which illustrate our subject and complete our descriptions.

113 As far as bibliography is concerned we must state that no work of analysis on this subject exists and there are only a small number of ethnographic studies, which are listed and evaluated in the pages that follow:

--Carsten Höeg: Les Saracatsans, une tribu nomade grecque

This book, bearing chiefly on the study of the Sarakatsani idiom contains an ethnographic note which, in our opinion, is a good introduction for the reader. However, it is only an introduction and is therefore limited.

Nevertheless, the linguistic part is very interesting and its conclusions continue to remain valid.

In the second volume of this work Monsieur Höeg reproduces some Sarakatsani stories and songs in a compilation very useful to the investigator.

/12/ --D. Géorgakas: De l'origine des Saracatsan et de leur dénomination (in Greek). A very learned study which presents an excellent systematic and critical account of all the theories concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani. It also contains some well documented ethnological data. However, since this study is very specialized it remains limited.

113 /12 cont./ --The study, or several studies (in Greek) by a pharmacist, B. Skafidas who, working as an amateur, has gathered considerable ethnographic material: a) "Les Saracatsans ou les Saracatsanais"; b) "Les Saracatsans--leur vie, leurs moeurs, leur coutumes".

These studies, of which the second duplicates the first and completes it, are genuinely interesting, although sometimes the author seems to consider some of the phenomena recorded by him as characteristic of Sarakatsani life when in reality these are customs followed by other social groups as well. Although the non-expert reader must consult these works cautiously, the contribution of Monsieur Skafidas is real and accomplished.

We shall mention next the study by Madame Joannidès-Barbarigou, ethnographer of merit on the staff of "Archives Folkloriques de l'Académie d'Athènes," on "Huttes des Saracatsan" (published in Greek). Although short, the study is good because of its clarity and precision and is regrettable that its author did not have an opportunity to work more thoroughly in this field. Nevertheless, this work, though brief, is valuable and very interesting.

114 Finally, it is necessary to mention particularly the numerous works on the Sarakatsani by Madame A. Hadjimichali, a Greek ethnographer of renown, culminating in her most recent very lengthy work.

Madame Hadjimichali lived several years among the Sarakatsani and her work is considered authoritative, not only in Greece, but in international ethnographic circles. We believe that modern Greece owes her special recognition for her contribution to the enormous task of the study of Neo-Hellenism. (45)

45. We mean by this term the social and cultural life of Greeks from the eighteenth century to our day, a period during which the nation is moving towards its independence and its renaissance.

113 It seems regrettable to us that her large work in Greek which/13/ bears the general title Les Saracatsans has still not been published in

/13 cont./
113 its entirety. Only the first part has appeared in two volumes, of which the first volume deals with general topics, and the second with professional life, building, food getting and the technique of manufacturing wooden objects, with comments on the decorative motifs carved into these objects.

In any case, Madame Hadjimichali announces, as soon forthcoming, the publication of two more large volumes of the work, devoted to weaving and clothing, along with the corresponding techniques; to the relation between life and work; the family; the different stages of life; religious worship and beliefs; magic and superstition; folk medicine; tales, songs and finally dances.

The volumes that have appeared represent a very rich collection of material, especially valuable since a number of traits, long recorded, have already disappeared, wiped out by the rapid modernization of the Sarakatsani.

114 It is truly regrettable that Madame Hadjimichali did not have recourse, at the time of her investigation and the drafting of her book, to a sufficiently searching analysis to match her great talents and undeniable calling. Thus, the solutions to many problems going beyond simple description have remained obscure. One might even add that the description of certain phenomena would be different if the author had considered them more systematically. On the other hand, in a great number of cases her interpretations of observed phenomena cannot be accepted.

May Madame Hadjimichali, as well as other investigators we have mentioned, kindly forgive us for these remarks which do not mean that we do not appreciate their work, or that we do not have great respect for the authors.

As P. Sorokin says of science: "...it appeared with criticism, has grown with criticism and it lives with criticism...Otherwise, instead of a scientific sociology we will have a pseudo-scientific complimentary art having nothing in common with a real science." (46)

114 /13 cont./

[13] 46. P. Sorokin: Les théories Sociologiques..., p. 17. /English taken from the original text in P. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories, New York; Harper, 1928. p. xxiii/

127 As far as we are concerned, we have used the bibliography
128 mentioned in order to: 1) To present certain phenomena formerly existing that has disappeared at the time of our inquiry; /14/ 2) complete the gaps in our own inquiry; and 3) present interpretations which certain authors have set forth about some phenomena, and, occasionally, to discuss the differences between their point of view and our own. All these cases have been specifically indicated in our text.

128 On the other hand, as far as the descriptions are concerned, we do not cite the authors whose observations coincide with ours. That is [14] because, once in the field, we worked as though nothing had been written on the Sarakatsani; we wanted to form an idea about them which was absolutely our own and study their life thoroughly in order to be able to explain it afterwards. Thus, our text was written from the material that we ourselves collected, with the exception of the cases mentioned above.

[120] Perhaps it should also be added that all the works cited are [121] either descriptive or centered on linguistic analysis. Hence our own contribution consists of the "anthropological" study of the Sarakatsani which, as far as we know, has never been done till now.

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000 To conclude this introduction we wish to thank all those who directly or indirectly facilitated our task: The old Sarakatsani chiefs N. Tzoumanis, A. Katsoulas, J. Yannakis, P. Karaïskow and the teacher of Tchépélovo, E. Yannakos. Our friends, B. Koutsoumbas and G. Katsambékis, likewise Sarakatsani. The lawyers of Sarakatsani origin, Chr. Karaïskos and N. Tsiamis. The veterinarian M.A. Constandinidès, Madame Fr. Ioannidès, Monsieur and Madame Saliveros, Monsieur and Madame Clonaris, and many others whom we are not able to mention for lack of space but whom we think of with gratitude. May all these persons

/18 cont./

165 Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

On this point, as on so many others, we can offer only hypotheses.

However, it is true that the observer is able to perceive among the Sarakatsani the presence of a considerable number of old people.

589 --Marriage is also very strong here. In view of the fact that the entire social life of the Saracatsan is based on the family, celibacy is unknown and is even considered disgraceful.

582 In general, the men marry between the ages of 25 and 30, and
586 the women between 20 and 25. Divorce and remarriage are forbidden.
587 At any rate, they are never practiced.

361 These phenomena are linked to another phenomenon which, is dem-
221 ographic in nature but which, in the factors that /19/ determine it, touches on the ecological aspect (4)

[113]

4. The term "ecology" discussed as such by the theoreticians (C. Lewelyn and A. Hauthorn: L'écologie humaine in La Sociologie au XX^e siecle, p. 477 f.) is used here to refer to the dialectical relations which develop between a group of human beings and their geographic and natural invironment.

of the Sarakatsani world. We are referring to the migratory movements of our herders--movements which take the form of seasonal displacements.

In spring, more precisely on Saint George's day (April 23), the

/19 cont./
361 Sarakatsani depart for the mountains. And in the fall, around the 26
221 October, the festical of Saint Demetrius, they leave the mountains and come down to the plains.

[233] These movements are ascribable to the very method of herding (5)
[113]

5. See M. Sorre: Les fondements de la géographie humaine, vol. II, part 2, p. 646-647.

that the Saracatsan carry on and to the needs of their flocks, on which they are absolutely dependent.

233 In fact, once transplanted to the Greek mountains which are
[133] formed of fissured limestone, the Sarakatsani were able to carry on but a single economic activity: the herding of sheep and goats.
[137] These two species are the only ones that could derive benefit from the meager natural pastures which are found on these steep slopes with
[113] their scrub vegetation. (6)

6. See P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 22 and 26.

132 The surface of the land alone presents numerous inconveniences. It is known that temperature drops with altitude. A rise of 200 meters is the equivalent of a distance of 300 kilometers in the direction of a more northerly latitude. (7)

7. See P. Veyret: Ibid., p. 41.

132 Winter thus comes rapidly in the mountains of the Mediterranean zone,
233 and it is particularly severe there, despite the generally temperate
22 climate prevailing in the Hellenic Peninsula. Vegetation can no
36 longer thrive, humidity reaches a degree harmful to the health of the sheep, the snow endangers their lives. A change of habitat thus becomes necessary. The Sarakatsani then come down into the valleys in search of more verdant and climatically milder regions.

When spring arrives, a spring which in Greece actually lasts only a few days, the valleys and grasslands dry up rapidly, the days are too warm for the livestock to endure the temperature, (8)

[101] 8. It is very characteristic to note that the sedentary stock-raisers of Greece, the "Karagounides"

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
361 during the day.
[191] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
463
114

10. Among these theorists we must mention P. Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.

believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.

[113]

11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

/23 cont./

361 621 474 612 The small groups correspond to the extended families, the isolated huts to conjugal families, the carefully finished hut to the chief, and the whole to the Tséligato.

[113] This organization is thus found to be engraved on the soil. (17)

17. See M. Halbwachs: Morphologie Sociale, p. 9.

233 The sheepfolds are not unusual in this respect. From their number one can deduce only the size of the flock they shelter; each contains 100 to 200 animals.

361 [776] In reality, the organization of space is much more complex. The Sarakatsani also single out evil places, others constituting the abode of supernatural beings, etc. All this will be examined in connection with the study of their magical and religious beliefs.

***

361 233 474 The encampment of our herders is called "konakia." This word, of Turkish origin, primarily means "dwelling." It is in this sense that it has been adopted into the popular language of all the inhabitants of continental Greece. However, among the Sarakatsani it also refers to the outbuildings of the dwellings, the sheepfolds and the installations for the tending of the animals in a word: the entire space they occupy.

[622] Moreover, the name of the chief of the group is added to the word "konakia"; and the different places occupied by the different groups are called "konakia of so-and-so."

The word "stani," also common to the herders of Greece, indicates the spot where the animal husbandry takes place.

Now, with respect to their referrent there is no difference between the terms "konakia" and "stani"; the nuance depends on the point of view from which one considers them: habitation in the first instance, husbandry in the second.

361 233 Finally, one finds a third term, "mandria," which /24/ designates again in general, with the cluster of shelters for the flocks. But this term should not be confused with the preceding ones, since it refers

/24 cont./

128 The pages that follow will show how Sarakatsani society deals with these problems. From another standpoint, they will illustrate the process of interaction of Saraktsani civilization with its morpho-ecological base. Thus the problem of the integration of this partial aspect with the whole will find its solution.

/25/

Chapter II

The Technology of the Sarakatsani

121 Properly speaking, technology is a psychosomatic process. This process, which asserts itself in a given natural environment and a given social framework (1) presents the following characteristics:

(113)

1. See André Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Techniques, pp. 355 and 361.--M. Mauss: Les Techniques et la Technologie, in: Mayerson, L. Febvre, A. Aymard, etc: Le Travail et les Techniques, p. 71-78.--A. Varagnac: L'homme et les techniques pré-machinistes in: J. Cassou, G. Friedmann, C. Durtain, M. Bloch, J. Luc, A. Varagnac, etc.: L'homme, la technique et la nature, p. 54.--M. Bloch: Technique et Évolution sociale, op. cit., p. 30. --J.A. Mauduit: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135.--K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, French translation p. 74-75.

1. It enables /one/ to dominate and exploit the forces and possibilities offered by nature.

2. Its development is a function of these, on the one hand, and of society on the other hand. The latter determines at one and the same time the needs to be met and the manner of doing so, by accumulating knowledge, beliefs and experience acquired in the course of time, as well as by providing the agents entrusted with various tasks.

And it also asserts itself in creations and inventions.

Thus, in technology, nature and society meet.

In order to study it, one may consider technology as a process of action on inert material for the purpose of manufacturing various

/25 cont./
121 objects. However, one may likewise see it as a process permitting first acquisition, then the consumption, the enjoyment and the use of that which is acquired.

In the first instance, we deal with technology technique in the strict sense, in other words, with industry and construction. In the second instance, we encounter it through man, insofar as he is the beneficiary. (2)

[113] 2. André Leroi-Gourhan: in his work cited and in another: L'homme et la matière, presents these two points of view in a manner that cannot be equalled.

/26/ The combination of these two points of view is not impossible, especially as industry and construction constitute a mode of acquisition. We should say that it is even indispensable, if we wish to avoid the risk of changing this anthropological study into a purely technological essay from which man would be absent.

128 Thus, this chapter will be set forth accordingly. Under a first heading we shall present the Sarakatsani techniques of acquisition. Under a second, those of consumption and utilization. And we shall close with some general observations on the technology of these herders.

121 Obviouly, in speaking of technological activity we immediately
128 raise problems of work and of the economy. Since the study of these questions is only possible in close connection with the study of social and economic organization, we shall speak of them in due time.

***

The Technology of Acquisition

In this domain there are five ways open to the Sarakatsani gathering, manufacture, building, herding, trade. Since the last forms part of their economic system, the first four will be examined here.

222 GATHERING
313 The applicability and importance of this manner of acquisition
824 is limited. The economic goods that the Saracatsan derive directly
312 from nature are:

/90 cont./

233 out a second time early in the morning after the milking of the milch ewes, and they graze until ten o'clock. The final pasturing of the day takes place from three o'clock until twilight.

During the summer the flocks remain out-of-doors all night and rest during the day in the "tsardhaki" or in shady places/91/ sheltered from the sun and heat. Thus they graze only during the night.

233 "Taking salt": this is the term the Sarakatsani use to describe
232 the practice which consists of feeding the livestock salt in order to replace that which the animals excrete in the summer. The salt is spread on flat stones and the flocks are led to them. The animals lick the salt and then hasten to the nearest stream in order to drink. The Sarakatsani maintain that this practice both increases the well-being of the animals and their milk production. Actually, the explanation is found in the fact that "the spray of very chlorinated sea water that the rains drop on the plants of the plains does not reach the uplands--The health of the stock and its resistance to diseases are therefore at stake..." (20)

[113] 20. P. Veyvret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 28-29.

Special care and veterinary medicine

From the hygienic point of view the care bestowed on the flocks is limited to:

--the search for good fodder;

--the indispensable precautions against bad weather: for example, the ground of the sheepfolds is covered with branches during the winter, so that the livestock do not lie on the wet and sometimes icy ground;

--finally, the ensuring of the well-being of the animals through certain magical practices. (21)

21. See below, pp. 298-324.

232 As for summoning scientific veterinary services there is no

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113]

17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
[593] "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
[562] husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562

First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
[533] during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
[539]

--And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
[602] is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
[539] their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/139 cont./

593 562 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife protection socially as well as economically.

594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only [842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 [163] Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent. We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.

[189] [844] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order pertaining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.

[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here. Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

/165 cont./

596 554 [601] are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] [114] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort

[113] 36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

596 601 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 561 554 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also are required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

* * * *

/169 cont./
596
626
exercised by the family.

[113]

39. On the idea of social control: E.A. Ross: A Survey of the Foundations of Order /cited in English/; R.E. Park and E. W. Burgess: Introduction to the Science of Sociology /cited in English/, L.L Bernard: Social Control in its Sociological Aspects /cited in English/; H.M. Johnson: Sociology, etc. See also the systematic and critical exposition by G. Gurvitch: "Le contrôle social " in: Sociologie au XX^{e} siecle, Vol. I.

There is no doubt that the Sarakatsani are committed to the strict preservation of their way of life, as we shall see later on and in our final chapter. What is important to note here is that their society, in order to protect itself from possible changes, moves along two courses which converge: it defends at any price the integrity of its cultural armature and it obliges its members to conform to the traditional norms and models of behavior, both for individuals and for the group. That this conformity leads to the preservation of the cultural armature which in turn gives meaning to conformity is obvious.

/170/Now in practice it is the extended family that finds itself charged with this mission, first of all through the education of the children. It molds their moral and psychological personalities according to the ideas and values peculiar to it.

[867]

Secondly, /it carries out this mission/ by the direct and tight control of the life of all its members. Its way of life, living together, the community, the collectivity, represent means highly efficient in this regard. No one can escape them. This control goes very far. It reaches even areas which, by definition, ought to enjoy a certain independence, indeed a profound spontaneity, as for example, maternal or filial affection, the joy born of a festival, or the sadness of mourning. In all these instances neither an individual nor the group

/170 cont./

596 626 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription. [585] [593] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

The Character of the Extended Family.

596 613 The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkheim, p. 109.

596 171 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/171 cont./

596 which ignores kinship through women.
[171]
[594] If we have adopted for it the term "extended family" it is, on the one hand, in order to distinguish it from the conjugal family which is less broad, and, on the other hand, to avoid confusion with the types of families we have just enumerated.

However, this is not all. The Sarakatsani extended family is not a "patriarchal" family properly speaking. It shows some resemblances to families whose patriarchal character is very clear, but it also /shows/ certain very considerable differences. Yet here we must be aware of slight differences and distinguish between the Sarakatsani extended family whose head-manager is the common grandfather and the extended family which is run by an elected head. Let us examine the first instance.

The family managed by the grandfather shows a trait in common with unquestionably patriarchal families, which historical evidence and sociological analysis accept as such in the Mediterranean region; the trait is that of paternal authority and of the principle of management confined to the "patriarch."

596 This point aside, very striking dissimilarities soon loom up.
171 Comparing the Israelite family of biblical times, (42)
113 42. See E. Renan: Histoire du peuple d'Israël, pp. 15-25.
the pre-Homeric Hellenic family (43)

43. See G. Glotz: La Cité Grecque, pp. 708, 45. Also: Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque, p. 240. Also: Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne, p. 12 f. P. Guiraud: La propriété foncière en Grèce, p. 46 f. Fustel de Coulanges: La Cité Antique, III, chapter IX, pp. 104-110.

and Roman family (44)

/171 cont./

596 171 [113]

44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[776] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] [848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 593 171 428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

/172 cont./

596 554 However, by basing our evidence on the very pronounced authority of the common grandfather, we believe that we may characterize it as "quasi-patriarchal."

Let us now move an examination of the character of the extended family managed by an elected head.

The existence of the latter and the possibility of his dismissal does not suffice to characterize it as democratic, since there is not complete equality among its members.

Moreover, contrary to what happens in the bosom of the undivided family of the great family, the head is not considered the equal of the men of his generation. Once elected, he occupies a higher rank than they. All the more is he not the equal of the men of other generations.

596 554 191 (113) In the Slavonic Zadruga (47) the Starechina, its head, is assisted

47. See D. Novakovich: La Zadruga, pp. 33, 102, 122, 124. E. Sicard: La Zadruga, pp. 135-193, 142, 145, 146, 372. Archpriest Douchich: Le Monténegro, p. 59. Articles 507 and 57 of the Code civil Serbe, and 709 of the Code de Monténegro.

by a council whose decisions, above all in serious matters, /173/ are binding, while the Sarakatsani head determines his actions all alone. In the exercise of his managership the Starechina may not go beyond the limits that the council has fixed for him--a fact which shows that his initiative is relative. The Sarakatsani head does not come up against anything comparable. Finally, in the Zadruga the post of Starechina can be held by a woman, something that is never seen among the Sarakatsani.

It is the same with the head of the Kabyle family, the t'amen who is an elected head, or rather an agent, in charge of maintaining order and enforcing the decisions of the amin (his council).(48)

48. R. Maunier: Ibid., p. 64 f.

596 Having established these characteristics, we propose to describe the

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191 humanization which was the result not only of the brilliance of the gentilices family units under the influence of the City, but also of the general progress of humanistic ideas, above all after the appearance of the Sophists. (51)

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51. The Roman world too knew a similar evolution after the fall of democracy. The Lex Julia de adulteriis: D. 48, 5, 22-1 and other texts show the change: P. 5, 2, 1, G. 1, 117, 118, C.J. 4, 43, 1, etc. On the later rights of the Roman wife: J. Gage: Matronalia, etc. p. 55. Let us also recall the famous definition of marriage of Modestinus: "conjunctio maris et feminae, consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicato."

Moreover, under the influence of Christianity, Byzantine Greece was acquainted with a family in which "the social position of the wife was singularly elevated." According to the preambles drafted by Emperor Leon VI the Wise, to accompany his Novellae regulating marriage, the woman "should remember that she was created from Adam's rib to be only an ally, a help to the man. It is he who is chief member, the head of a unique body formed by the marriage."

It is therefore not necessary, as is generally done, to refer to Germanic, Teutonic families with bilateral kinship, as Tacitus says, (52)

52. Germania.

whose members bear the name of their agnatic lineage as well as that of the maternal (uterine) lineage, in order to explain the condition of the woman in the family and the kindred, as observed in the area occupied by the Hellenes.

It is even very probable--especially if the theory that the Sarakatsani appeared very recently holds true--that the details of their family structure and their system of kinship were influenced by the ancient Hellenic systems of values and those of Byzantium.

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596 613 591 602 596 (421) If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 474 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agrotichs, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 426 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 427 591 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/182 cont./

474 596 675 other forms of Sarakatsani group life manifests itself here in the same way: isolated shepherds and conjugal as well as extended families take on obligations to the Tséligato. The Tséligato in turn takes on obligations in favor of its constituent elements. The heads of families transfer to the Tséligato their economic functions having to do with the business of herding, and so forth. Compensation resides chiefly in the facts that have determined the creation of the Tséligato, which we enumerated at the beginning of this section.

474 182 Sociological Characterization of the Tséligato.

As a specific social group, the Tséligato is midway between the extended family and the economic cooperative.

From the family it has borrowed the moral attributes that go with a family herding enterprise. From the cooperative it has taken the contractual bond uniting its members. As a result, it is better equipped than the cooperative, for, in carrying out its functions, it can appeal to moral attributes in all cases where the contractual bond is insufficient. Likewise, it is more powerful than the family, for it is in a position to make people who are not related cooperate.

It is therefore, according to the Gurvitch group typology, (55)

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55. See G. Gurvitch: La vocation, pp. 309-311.

an intermediate group between kinship and /183/ an economic affinity, of voluntary, permanent and supra-functional cooperation.

We will try to assess the role it plays in the life of our herders when we discuss the organized aspect of the latter.

619 SARAKATSANI SOCIETY AND THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY

[474] Sarakatsani society includes all the Sarakatsani. It is made up of all the Tséligatos and their subordinate group or individual elements. It is created by their distribution in space. If we wish to use the criteria of classification in social groups proposed by G. Gurvitch and based on "the extent of dispersion," we should say that

/199 cont./

671 177 [188] the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.

Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a very relative influence on our herders.

671 627 692 Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani, for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani very much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 177 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs, too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 [178] It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

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121 691 The preceding account is based entirely on the presupposition that the Sarakatsani have a law which is their own. Thus our task at present is to discover this law, to describe it, to stress its peculiarities, in a word, to establish its existence and its limits.

/202/ SARAKATSANI LAW STRICTLY SPEAKING

IN SEARCH OF THE CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFICATION AND DIFFERENTIATION

The only truly legal manifestations that we find when we examine Sarakatsani life are the obstacles to marriage, the prohibition against sexual relations outside marriage, the contract with the Tseligas, arbitration, and finally crimes and misdemeanors.

However, are these truly matters of law? And if so, must one conclude from them that the legal life of the Sarakatsani is limited to these? Or must one rather concede, along with certain theorists, that the non-existence of courts and organized forces for the application of sentences shows that these herders are without any law? (7)

(113) 7. See W. Seagle: The quest for law/cited in English/, pp. 34, 60-69.

Or, finally, must we, along with other theorists, accept the opposite opinion which holds that our nomads have law, since they have customs, and that the totality of their customs represents the law of their society? (8)

(113) 8. See E. Sidney Hartland: Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 5. "Primitive law is in truth the totality of customs of the tribe"/cited in English/.

These alternatives show very well that in order to be able to adopt a position we must try to explore the life of the Sarakatsani from some workable criteria.

The general theory of law offers several methods of approach to legal matters, based on the characteristics of the latter, which we hereby

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121 enumerate and evaluate as distinguishing criteria.
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First, each point of law has a normative character. However,
121 since norms derive from the total of cultural achievements, this
183 criterion cannot be used by itself.
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It is necessary also to consider the source of the norm and its form. If it arises from a body having legal functions and is expressed in a form that is defined and recognized in advance, one may conclude that the norm in case is a matter of law. However, this procedure is valid only for societies that have specialized bodies /203/ entrusted with legal powers, (9)

[171] 9. Modern societies are not the only ones to have
[113] bodies of this kind. They are also found in ancient and archaic societies. The codes of Hamurabi, of Zaleucos at Locris, of Charondas at Catane and of Androdamas of Rhegion (Aristotle: Politics II, 9,5,9) in antiquity, and the descriptions of J. Vanhove: Essai du droit coutumier du Ruanda and of J. Peristianis: La vie et le droit coutumier des Kipsigis du Kenya, for some archaic societies constitute some examples.

and fundamental rules determining in advance the form of laws. Moreover, in these same societies this process is not applicable if one wishes to discover spontaneous law. (10)

[113] 10. On the idea of spontaneous law: E. Ehrlich: Grundlegung der Soziologie des Rechts, p. 399 f.-- G. Gurvitch: Elements de Sociologie juridique, pp. 91, 175-78, as well as his criticism of Ehrlich in his Traité, pp. 184-187, vol. II.

Since Sarakatsani society lacks bodies of this kind (arbitration being the exception), this criterion is not applicable.

Next, one may observe the content of the norm. When it includes bilateral or unilateral obligations it is accepted as a norm of law. (11)

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671
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(113)

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11. See Br. Malinowski: Moeurs et coutumes des Mélanésiens p. 42.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.--A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 13.

However, there are liberalities or "options" determined by law, (12)

(584)

12. The gift. The paternal consent in case of marriage.

and even laws which create bonds, not only between individuals but also between an individual and a thing. (13)

13. Rights in rem.

Finally, even bilateral and unilateral obligations do not all necessarily derive from law. Something more is thus required.

The source of the norm represents another element meriting observation. If it is linked with "the idea of justice," with "what is just," "what is approved," (14) etc., it is very probable, though not certain, that the

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14. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie p. 112.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid, p. 189.--C. Van Vollenhoven: Net Adatrecht van Nederlandsh Indië, /Custom Law of the Dutch Indies/ etc.

norm in question is a norm of law, since the same ideas apply equally to morality, religion, etiquette, (15) etc. By itself, this source does not

15. On the idea of etiquette see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 13.

constitute a sufficient criterion to distinguish law from other norms. For more clarity let us add that, although law is invoked largely to protect material interests, thus assuming a utilitarian character, its utilitarianism is always expressed in terms of the ideas that we have just mentioned.

The aim and the function of the point examined represent another way to look at law. For the aim of the latter is /204/ to protect social life from conflicts and disorder, and its function resides precisely in the realization of this aim. However, one also finds both this aim and this function in other norms. Nevertheless, one must recognize that

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121 691 183 legal norms are much more efficient and dynamic in resolving states of conflict than other types of norms, thanks to their means of persuasion. Thus, we come to the following point.

The distinguishing factor of law may also come from the social guarantee (16) which accompanies it and which is expressed in sanction and coercion. Law cannot live without this guarantee, at the risk of becoming a dead letter. There is therefore no doubt: this is indeed the essence of law, socially speaking. (17) Other norms also have ways of being enforced. If these ways fail, the value and nature of the content of the norm are not affected. On the other hand, if law is deprived of all means of enforcement, it changes its character, it becomes morality, usage, incentive, etc. It is no longer law.

16. According to the apt terminology of G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.

17. With some exceptions of which we shall speak farther on, all modern legal theorists or ethnologists seem to agree. Herewith a sample of the large bibliography of law on the subject: P. Roubier: Théorie générale du droit, p. 25.--R. Monier and others: Histoire des Institutions, p. 14.--B.N.Cardozo: The growth of the law/cited in English/, p. 52.--H. Kelsen: Théorie pure du droit, p. 61.--É. Durkheim: De la division du travail social p. 33-34.--R. Thurnwald: Die Menschliche Gesellschaft, vol. V, p. 2-4.--R. Pound: Sociologie du droit, p. 306.--E.A. Hoebel: The Law of primitive man/cited in English/, p. 26 etc.

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121 691 Therefore sanction and coercion validate law and reinforce the other criteria indicated by clearing them of all ambiguity and all misunderstanding when they coexist with these.

Precise details on this point will be given later on. We shall show that sometimes law is applied by direct coercion which means that

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629 692 627 696 Two points or view converge: microsociological and macrosociological influences and pressures, on the one hand; a molding of the personality, on the other. It is this double determinancy, "the internal and external causality" in the apt phrase of R. Bastide, (29) that is at the base of the phenomena of obedience to arbiters, which would otherwise be inexplicable.

29. R. Bastide: La causalité externe and la causalité interne, vol. XXI, C.I.d.S., pp. 77-79.

/214/ It matters little whether this drama is explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious. The important fact is that it exists and is effective, as is shown by the infinitesimal number of cases of isolation. (30)

30. All these methodological as well as ontological statements are drawn from the present state of research in the social sciences, which has led G. Gurvitch to speak of "total psychological phenomena" (Traité, vol. II, pp. 333-338). Unfortunately this concept is still insufficiently developed; it is drawn from many different works among which we cite the following: M. Dufrenne: La personalité de base.--R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse.--C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale.--H. Wallon: Les origines du caractère chez l'enfant.--R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations.--R. Linton: The Science of man /cited in English/ and Les fondements culturels de la personnelité.--A. Kardiner: The individual and his society /cited in English/.--T. M. Newcomb: Social Psychology/cited in English/.--O. Klineberg: Psychologie sociale.--A. Kroeber: Anthropology today/cited in English/.--G. Gillin: For a science of social man/cited in English/, etc.

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626 627 692 But before we proceed further, certain questions arise: this mechanism of imposing certain rules of behavior, in what way does it

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685 Trespassing on their pastures.

The Sarakatsani use force, often armed, to repulse all those who try to trespass on the pastures they have leased.

It is concern for the defense of their interests, indeed their means of subsistence, that prompts them to react in this way; futhermore, they have no other means. Since the danger is to the group, they must face it as a group, the young men constituting the striking force.

683 626 Calumny and defamation.

Those who commit this misdemeanor incur public contempt. Moreover, a man who lets himself be influenced by women's gossip likewise becomes an object of derision.

This contempt is not only constraint of a moral order, but a veritable punishment because it has the same effect as the social disapproval of recalcitrants. We have described the efficacy nature of that sanction in connection with arbitration.

* * * *

671 There remains for us to systematize all the foregoing findings before closing this chapter.

/223/ SYSTEMATIC AND CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON SARAKATSANI LAW

The sources of Sarakatsani law are custom, equity and common sense. However: first, though some customs are exclusively legal and therefore identifiable as such, there are others that are polyvalent, whose legal aspects intermingles with other aspects; second, common sense and equity are results whose components derive at one and the same time from legal, moral, religious, mythical or rational judgments--in short, from the entire Sarakatsani cultural system which, at that moment, assumes a legal qualifications and functions. (34)

(113)

34. Similar reflections are to be found in several works, for example Sir. P. Vinogradoff: Custom and Right /cited in English/, p. 21.--René Hubert: Science du Droit, p. 51.--M. Radin: La censure des coutumes , p. 90-91.--J. Poirier:

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(113) L'originalité des droits coutumiers, p. 487.--
P. Roubier: Théorie générale du Droit, p. 163 f.,
etc.

For it should be emphasized that the law of the Saraktsani--this aspect of social life which Malinowski (35) has judiciously called "the

35. Ibid., p. 45.

aspect of legality" --must be regarded as a sphere only half of which is visible. To define it, therefore, requires a task of specific identification. This remark applies to all its manifestations.

The sources of this law are: the conjugal family and the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, arbiters and individuals.

Under the term "source" we include the groups and individuals whose activity show's creativity in matters of law (setting forth rules to be followed, adjudication, sanction, coercion).

Seen from the angle of legislation, the most notable of these sources (596) is the extended family. For from it emanate all the rules concerning family life, social organization, the system of ownership and the manner of economic exploitation.

(594) (596) The conjugal family is regulated in terms of the life of the extended family and according to its authority.

(474) (596) The Tséligato develops a zone of legislative activity which is peculiar to it and is limited to relations between the Tséligas and the /224/ participants; for all the rest it has recourse to regulations pertaining to the extended family.

Sarakatsani society, as a total unit, merely does not issue them.

(692) (596) The arbiters, as legislators, enjoy an autonomy which is only apparent, since the rules that they apply must be compatible with the general application of laws, wherein the extended family plays a primary role, as well as with the Sarakatsani cultural system which is, above all, the work of this type of family.

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elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

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754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated [782] eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well [171] as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival [113] of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Cuthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are 789 evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[71] 79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ: M. P. G. 61, 188. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

/393 cont./

121 182 is advisable to give some details in order to avoid misunderstandings that might alter the picture.

121 182 233 The symbiosis of the Sarakatsani with their animals does not imply a parasitic solution--that of living on the animal and the animal on nature, spontaneous growth--as might offhand be believed, especially under the influence of certain authors trying to draw up a general theory of pastoral nomadism. (5)

(113)

5. See Lawrence Krader: "Ecologie du nomadisme pastoral", in: Revue Intern. des Sciences sociales U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. XI, no. 4, 1959, p. 521.--J. Berque: Introduction to the same number of the same periodical.

On the contrary. Using an excellent formula by A. Toynbee in connection with the same problem (general, but applicable to the case of the Sarakatsani), we find that between them and their stock there is "...a fair exchange of benefits. If the flocks are kept to give their milk and meat to man, the latter must provide subsistence for the animals. Neither the one nor the other...can exist...without reciprocal help." (6)

6. See A. Toynbee: Histoire, p. 194.

121 181 191 The second point refers to the characterization of the Sarakatsani culture as Mediterranean. In the preceding chapters we have had occasion to emphasize repeatedly this characteristic of the cultural works of these nomads, beginning with their technology and ending with their cosmology and their religion. If we return to it, that is because the origins of the ideas of cooperation and its forms in the Balkans have been the subject of the liveliest discussions among historians. Some of them maintain that this is a practice of Slavic inspiration. If this assertion is true and if we consider the extremely important place that cooperation occupies in the lives of these herders, it would seem that the designation of their culture as exculsively Mediterranean is erroneous.

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113 III. Ancient and medieval texts

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— Αἰλιανοῦ : Περὶ ζώων.	MDCCCLXIV
— Αἰσχύλου Τραγῳδίαι : Χοηφόροι.	MCMVII
— » » Εὐμενίδες.	»
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— Ἄννης τῆς Κομνηνῆς : Ἀλεξιάς.	MDCCCLXXXIV
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— Ὁμήρου : Ἰλιάς.	MDCCCLXX
— Ὁμήρου : Ὀδύσσεια.	MDCCCLXII
— Πλάτωνος : Διάλογοι, vol. III, Τίμαιος.	MDCCCLXXIII
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vol. II, Ἀριστείδης	MDCCCLXXIV
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vol. VII. Ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Δαιδάλων	MDCCCXCVI
— Παυσανίου : Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις.	MCMIII
— Suetoni Tranquilli : Opera. Vol. I, *De vita cæsarum : Divus Augustus.*	MCMVIII
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— C. Taciti : *Germania.*	MCMLVII
— Θεοκρίτου : Εἰδύλλια.	MDCCCLXXXI
— Θεοφράστου : Χαρακτῆρες.	MDCCCLVIII
— Virgilii Maronis : *Aeneide.*	MDCCCLXIV

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Abbreviations for periodicals and collections

— C. I. d. S. = Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie.
— R. Ph. = Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'étranger.
— E. H. = Collection : Evolution de l'Humanité.
— B. F. Ph. L. = Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et des Lettres de Liège.
— Q. s. j. = Que sais-je?
— Ann. Soc. = Année Sociologique.
— J. H. St. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
— A. Ph. Dr. Soc. Jur. = Archives de Philosophie du droit et de Sociologie Juridique.
— Λαογραφία = Δελτίον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφικῆς Ἑταιρίας.

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/pp. 439-447 of foreign text not translated/

Sara Katsani EH14
1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

G. F. Abbott, *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia* (London, 1903), gives evidence of the degree of Hellenization of the Vlachs fifty years ago.

H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future* (London, 1906), devotes a whole chapter to the Vlachs, beginning with the description of Pisoderi, which he considers a typical village. He also, contrary to Abbott above, foresees a weakening of connection between the Vlachs and the Greeks.

Rennell Rodd traces the derivations of the word Vlach and provides some historical background in his book *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892).

9. This is a thoroughgoing study of their migration practices, costumes, birth, marriage, burial customs, intervillage relationships, the distribution of the Vlachs, the Vlach language, and the history and origin of the Balkan Vlachs. Full citation is: A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans: An Account of Life and Customs Among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus* (London, 1914).

Without attempting to cover the references to the Vlachs in other Balkan languages, I might mention one in Serbo-Croatian, entitled *O Cincarima* (Concerning the Cincari), by D. J. Popovic (Beograd, 1937). These Tsintsars are Serbized Vlachs, who have also become urbanized. Th. Capidan, himself a Koutso-Vlach who studied and lived in Roumania, has written very extensively about these Balkan nomads, primarily with the purpose of showing that all of them, even the Greek-speaking Sarakatsani, were originally Koutso-Vlachs. See his *Les Macédo-roumains. Esquisse historique et descriptive des populations roumaines* (Bucarest, 1937).

10. See Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans, une tribe grecque* (Paris, 1925), for an excellent linguistic study. D. J. Georgacas, in his "Peri tes katagoges ton Sarakatsanaion kai tou Onomatos Auton" (Concerning the Origin of the Sarakatsani and Their Name), *Archeion Thrakikou Glossikou kai Laographikou Thesaurou*, XIV (1948–49), 193–270, argues against Höeg's theory that the Sarakatsani derive from an ancient nomadic tribe and claims that they did not become nomadic until the late Middle Ages.

11. This work of Demosthenes Sirakes is the best Greek source on the nomads. It discusses almost every possible aspect of their life, particularly in the economic sphere, and tries to indicate how the nomadic livestock producers can best be settled. Although the figures quoted here are old, they are probably as reliable as most estimates would be today. Full citation of the article is: "Orismos nomadikes, monimou kai georgikes ktenotrophias e e nomadike ktenotrophia en Helladi," *Georgikon Deltion tes Hellenikes Georgikes Etaireias* (Agricultural Bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society), XII (1925), 651–777.

12. Z. Duckett Ferriman, mentioned in note 7 above, has even more to say about the undesirable qualities of the nomads (see pp. 45–54). He calls the reader's attention to the shepherds' dogs as follows: "We are apt to associate the name of sheep dog with collie. That graceful and sympathetic member of the canine family is far removed from the savage cerberi who guard the folds of Greece. Huge and powerful mastiffs, with heavy jowls and ensanguined eyes, they are no doubt valuable auxiliaries in the presence of marauding wolves. But, like their master, they are of low intelligence, and they take everyone except their masters for a wolf" (p. 52).

13. The work by K. Koukkides, *To pnevma tou synergatismou ton neoteron hellenon kai t'Ambelakia, o protos synetairismos tou kosmou* (Athens, 1948), is a splendid source for the study of patterns of mutual aid.

14. It is of historic interest to note that many of these chief shepherds became important klephts during the days of Turkish rule over Epirus and Northern Greece. If the klepht was friendly to you, he was known as a guerrilla leader; if he opposed you, he was a bandit. It was ever thus in the Balkans.

15. For a scholarly treatment in Greek of the tselingata, one should consult K. Karavides, *Agrotika* (Concerning Rural Life) (Athens, 1931). He analyzes for the rural Balkans as a whole four major forms of economic organization: the tselingata, the feudal tsifliki (estate), the patriarchal family which he associates with the zadruga, and the kephalochoria, or independent village where the peasants were their